

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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R 271535Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1017

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, RO

SUBJECT: FOREIGN PARTY ATTITUDES EMERGE AT 11TH PARTY CONGRESS

1. IN CONTRAST TO 1969 TENTH PARTY CONGRESS, ROMANIANS ARRANGED THAT FOREIGN DELEGATES TO CURRENT CONCLAVE (WHICH WILL END NOVEMBER 28) MAKE NO SPEECHES TO AVOID EXTENDED OR CONTROVERSIAL DEBATE BUT INSTEAD HAND SHORT "GREETINGS" TO CEAUSESCU IN GALA SESSION HELD AFTERNOON OF OPENING DAY. NEVERTHELESS, ABBREVIATED TEXTS OF SOME "GREETINGS" NOW PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 27 IN CENTRAL PRESS CLEARLY CONTAIN CONCERTED REMINDERS TO RCP BY SOVIETS AND EE CLIENTS ABOUT

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ROMANIA'S BLOC OBLIGATIONS, WHILE SUPPORT FOR ROMANIA'S

INDEPENDENT STANCE IS STRONGEST, AS EXPECTED, FROM CHINA, YUGOSLAVIA, AND JAPANESE CP.

2. COMMON THEME RUNNING THROUGH SOVIET AND EE "GREETINGS", IMPLICITLY CRITICAL OF RCP, IS NEED FOR "UNITY AND COHESION" OF FRATERNAL SOCIALIST STATES. SOVIET MESSAGE, IN FACT, COMES ACROSS AS NEAR WARNING, BY DESCRIBING AS "GUARANTEE OF CONTINUAL FLOURISHING OF SOCIALIST ROMANIA" GOR'S "STRENGTHENING OF RELATIONS" AND "CLOSE COLLABORATION" WITH EE BRETHERN AS WELL AS "ACTIVE PARTICIPATION" IN CEMA'S "SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION". BULGARIA ADDS PLUG FOR "UNITY OF ACTION" AS REGARDS WARSAW PACT, ALSO MENTIONED BY EAST GERMANS, WHILE CZECHOSLOVAKIA WARNS OF "NOISY CAMPAIGN" TO WEAKEN "OUR UNITY" AND PROMOTE DISTRUST. POLES URGE "UNITY OF SOCIALIST STATES", "IDEOLOGICAL UNITY" AND STRUGGLE AGAINST ANY FORM OF DEVIATION. HUNGARIAN MESSAGE, WHILE SHORT ON UNITY THEME, RECALLS PERIOD WHEN EXPLOITERS SUCCEEDED IN PROVOKING DIVERSITY AND "NATIONAL HATE" AMONG TWO PEOPLES AND URGES (WITH TRANSYLVANIA MINORITY IN MIND) THAT LENISIST POLICY BY WHICH NATIONALITY IS "LIVING BRIDGE" BETWEEN COUNTRIES BE CONSISTENTLY PROMOTED.

3. CHINESE MESSAGE IS SHORT (AT LEAST IN ABBREVIATED FORM AVAILABLE) BUT WARM, CONGRATULATING ROMANIA ON ITS "DEFENSE OF INDEPENDENCE" AND NOTING THAT RCP OPPOSES BOTH IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONY (WORD USED TWICE). OF OTHER MESSAGES, YUGOSLAV AND JAPANESE CP'S ARE STRONGEST IN SUPPORT OF ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY, WITH YUGOSLAVS NOTING INTENSIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM, CHARACTERIZED BY "A DIVERSITY OF WAYS AND A MULTITUDE OF FORMS, CORRESPONDING TO THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF EACH COUNTRY". JAPANESE COME ON STRONG WITH QUOTE FROM 1971 ROMANIAN-JAPANESE PARTY COMMUNIQUE WHICH EMPHASIZED THERE SHOULD BE NO RPT NO LEADING CENTER IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, INTERFERENCE IN OTHER PARTIES, AND "SUPPORT OF FACTIONS"; JCP STATES THESE PRINCIPLES EVEN MORE VALID TODAY.

4. AMIDST CONGRESS ACTIVITY CEAUSESCU HAS ALREADY MET SEVERAL HEADS OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS. ON THE 26TH HE WAS CLOSETED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITH STANE DOLANC OF YUGOSLAVIA FOR A DISCUSSION OF "INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST" AND ALSO SAW SPANISH COMMUNIST LEADER SANTIAGO CARRILLO, AS WELL AS DELEGATIONS FROM SYRIA, UAR AND ZANU. QUITE CONSPICUOUS SO FAR IS ABSENCE OF CEAUSESCU-KIRILENKO MEETING; ACCORDING TO SCINTEIA, SOVIET DELEGATION WAS OUT TOURING THE CITY YESTERDAY WITH DOZENS OF OTHERS. THIS ORDER OR PRIORITY IS ANOTHER INDEX OF CEAUSESCU'S DRUTHERS AND HARDLY FAVORS SOVIETS AT THIS

JUNCTURE.

5. ROMANIAN EFFORT TO ENSURE ATTENDANCE AT CONGRESS OF LARGE  
NUMBER OF FOREIGN PARTIES FROM ALL SHADES OF "PROGRESSIVE"  
IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM HAS SUCCEEDED (INCLUDING UK LABORISTS  
AND COLUMBIAN CONSERVATIVES) WITH TOTAL NOW AT 138 (MORE  
THAN DOUBLING 1969 ATTENDANCE). OF THESE BY OUR COUNT,  
75 ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF CUMMUNIST PARTIES, 54 OF NON-  
COMMUNIST LEFTIST PARTIES, AND 9 FROM VARIOUS LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS INCLUDING A PLO DELEGATION.  
BARNES

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